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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1969

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[Speeches of George Ivascu, member of the Executive Committee of the International Association of Literary Critics, and of Ryszard Matuszewski, vice president of the International Association of Literary Critics, at the 9th colloquium of the International Association of Literary Critics in Madrid on 19-21 October 1981 on the subject of "literature in the minority languages and problems posed for the critic"]

[Excerpt] As we informed you in No 45 on page 22, the 9th colloquium of the International Association of Literary Critics took place in Madrid on 19-20 October 1981, sponsored by the Association of Spanish Literary Critics (president, academician Guillermo Diaz-Plaja; vice president, Juan Ramon Masoliver). Participating were representatives of centers in 21 countries. In this issue we are reprinting a portion of the main speeches, making some shorter due to the lack of space. Others will appear in future issues.

George Ivascu, Member of the Executive Committee of International Association of Literary Critics--Romania

The special interest of literary research in the minority languages lies in the fact that these literatures are the result of a historical process which, from the beginning of the expansion of writing, facilitated the coexistence of many literatures or, better said, the specific contact of these literatures as a result of population shifts which took place during the first millenium or the relations established within the multinational empires. Thus, the study of literatures in the minority languages requires a lucid approach in a historical perspective. Only in such a perspective can one explain the variation which appears in the relationship between a "majority" literature and a "minority" literature as well as their dialogue.

The specific but also the general aspects always must be respected, N. Iorga asserted at a radio conference in 1938, also expressing his concern for the "Future of the Small States" at the point when Hitlerist Germany already had invaded Austria and was threatening Czechoslovakia's integrity in order later to move to launching World War II after mutilating this country and to invading Poland. Occupied Poland, conquered France, the entire European balance crushed--these are the circumstances in which the hateful Vienna dictate of 30 August 1940 was imposed on Romania, which snatched the northwestern portion of the national territory. This blow dealt the

country's integrity meant a grave violation of the political statute brought by the act of union with Transylvania on 1 December 1918, a well-known statute and, later, by the peace treaties of Versailles and Trianon.

The military-fascist dictatorship had to be borne and the entire tragedy of the war, so that Romania could reintegrate its Transylvanian territory through its liberation act of 23 August 1944 and its devoted participation in the allied nations' victory.

Transylvania is the region where populations of Hungarian and also German nationalities settled in the second millenium, alongside the Romanian population.

Following World War I, Romania--finally reestablished in its natural borders--became a united national state but, at the same time, aware of the need for bringing ad adequate status for the minority populations established on its territory during the preceding centuries. This problem equally was of concern to the progressive Romanian, Hungarian and German awareness of the timeIn this regard one can cite the example of a publication of the time, such as is the case of the Hungarian magazine, KORUNK ("Our Era") or, in German, DIE KARPATHEN and KLINGSOR which, in agreement with a good number of Romanian publications, were striving to create a harmonious climate of understanding and fraternal collaboration between the Romanians and citizens of other nationalities which were living on Romanian territory. And this is all the more in the agitated period of the fascist rise on the continent, when all the progressive forces of the Romanian people were fighting for social progress, a struggle in which an important role belonged to the working class, tempered by its communist party which, from the start, had understood the importance of the solidary action of all the antifascist forces, regardless of nationality.

This ideology was expressed in the protest acts of a great number of Hungarian and German intellectuals who, although they had the status of a minority population, arose against the Vienna dictate and, later, against the Hitlerist war, going even to the supreme sacrifice alongside their Romanian comrades.

The act of 23 August 1944--which marked the victory of the Romanian insurrection against Hitlerist Germany--was to confirm the justness of a struggle at the national level in the name of common ideals, a struggle following which the solution to the national problem in Romania had to take on true dimensions. Really, the first democratic popular government headed by Dr Petru Groza (installed on 6 March 1945) created a special ministry which gave truly democratic status to these populations, from then on considered "cohabiting nationalities." This was not a simple shade of terminology but rather an important forward step in the national problem which was to be carried out in the country's new legislation. It was that which later was to be confirmed by the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania which in Article 12 stated that "citizens of the Socialist Republic of Romania, regardless of nationality, race, sex or creed, are equal in rights in all areas of economic, political, legal, social and cultural life." Or, even more closely linked with our theme, Article 22, which provides: "In the Socialist Republic of Romania, the cohabiting nationalities are insured the free use of their native language and books, newspapers, magazines, theaters, all grades of education in their own language."

Once institutionalized, all these rights reached the degree of a veritable flourishing of the cultural values of the cohabiting nationalities, in this way contributing to enrichment of Romania's cultural heritage. As the country's president pointed

out the National Writers' Conference in November 1968, "We should stress the valuable contribution made to the great successes of our country's literature by the writers belonging to the cohabiting nationalities. The works of writers in our country, be they Romanian, Hungarian, German or of other nationalities, serve the friendship and fraternity between the Romanian people and the cohabiting nationalities and the united work for the flourishing of the common country--socialist Romania."

Clearly, one could cite dozens and dozens of names of writers and titles marking evolution of Hungarian literature in Romania in the period of the more than 60 years since the great union of 1 December 1918, as well as of Germans, no less rich, and the other nationalities, as well as the Serbian, Ukrainian, Jewish, Armenian and Slovak nationalities. For example, if we were to browse through the jubilee catalogue of the Kriterion publishers at its 10th anniversary (at the end of 1969) we would have been impressed by the 1,015 titles of books which appeared in Hungarian, 322 in German, 116 in Serbo-Croatian, 84 in Ukrainian, 27 in Yiddish. Also to be noted are the translation into Romania of books written in the languages of the cohabiting nationalities which happily complete the area of concerns with easier circulation of spiritual values and the national and, of course, international level.

Then one must stress a totally significant fact: Romanian, Hungarian, German and other nationalities' writers are working together and discussing together the common problems in the Union of Writers of Romania. More than 10 percent of the union's members are Hungarian, represented in an appropriate proportion in the union's council and executive bureau and the situation also is valid for German writers or those of other nationalities. Alongside the union's bureau, in a consultative capacity, a commission on nationalities operates and, among other things, it plays a decisive role in giving literary prizes.

The Union of Writers publishes magazines in the languages of the cohabiting nationalities: the UTUNK weekly and the IJAZ SZO monthly in Hungarian; NEUE LITERATUR a German monthly and KNIJEVNI JIVOT in Serbian. We also could mention cultural periodicals KORUNK, A HET, VOLK UND KULTUR and others, reflecting a great diversity of concerns. It is proper to add to all this the cultural broadcasts weekly by Romanian radio-television in Hungarian and German.

Of course , in this context one must point out the job of literary and artistic criticism which facilitates in such a broad perimeter the circulation of specific cultural values also present in the publications of Romanian writers as well as those of their brothers of other nationalities. At the national level, 52 of the total 515 newspapers and magazines published in Romania are in the languages of the cohabiting nationalities (for example, published in Bucharest are the large-circulation dailies ELORE (Hungarian and NEUER WEG (German), with newspapers in these particular languages also appearing in other centers, for the attention of the citizens belonging to these nationalities.

So these are several of the major lines--directly informative--in the idea that precisely in this way can one suggest most strikingly a lively reality, in full development, a reflex of a dynamic concept belonging to modern Romania. It is the humanist concept of a country which well understands the beneficial role of any valuable cultural contribution, whatever the language it is expressed in is. Such a correct comprehension of the national problem places Romanian culture in its entirety as an active factor in the general context of efforts to consolidate peace, understanding and cooperation among all peoples in the world.

Ryszard Matuszewski, Vice President of International Association of Literary Critics--Poland

I represent a people who should understand best of all the national and cultural aspirations of others, since they know very well how many times their own aspirations in this area were not respected. For more than a century we were a country whose rights were not recognized, while our literature was considered a literature in a minority language in all the three states which split Poland's territory between them.

The situation changed after World War I; we regained our independence while our literature was able to enjoy all the advantages of its existence in a free country. Yet, since the interwar period Poland was not a homogenous country with regard to its national structure: national minorities represented around 30 percent of the entire population. And, unfortunately, one cannot say that the Polish authorities between the two world wars found adequate means to eliminate the complicated problems of these minorities. The doctrine of nationalism, which was gaining ground in many European countries of that time, was also spread in Poland. However, progressive Polish thinking always was opposed to any kind of nationalist demagogy. But the horror unloosened by Hitlerist anti-Semitism and the shock it often caused even among partisans in the nationalist Polish movement had consequences which shook us to reality.

Here I recall these problems of the past because precisely in this period between the two world wars a rich literature in the minority languages developed in Poland. Polish literary criticism generally showed no interest in this phenomenon. Of course, there were exceptions. I am not referring here to all those Polish writers who were concerned with problems such as, for example, presentation of the sometimes bitter truth which characterized relations between the Polish population and the Ukrainian or between Polish and Jewish and they were concerned in a penetrating and courageous way. Also existing were groups of young left writers, socialist or communist, particularly in the regions where the national minorities were the majority, in Lvov or Vilno, groups particularly interested in the literature in Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Lithuanian or Jewish literature, devoting special issues of their literary magazinees to the problems of these literatures. They were attempting to work out methods of cooperation with minority writers and to wipe out the mutual ignorance and lack of faith.

But, generally, knowledge of these literatures among a certain Polish cultural elite was rather weak. Among other things, nearly nothing was known of Yiddish and Hebrew writers. Isaac Bashevis Singer was only discovered by Polish critics recently, at the moment in which he became a Nobel Prize laureate, despite the fact that a good portion of his novels, presenting the realities of our country with a wealth of detail, already was being read in Poland. However, we should note that Singer became famous only after he left Poland. Another element, no less significant, is also the fact that this writer, placing the action of his novels in Poland, still remains enclosed in the circle of Jewish society, strictly isolated from the life of the Poles. Poland and the Poles for him are just as exotic as the world and way of life of the Jews presented in his books are for us.

They do not present special problems regarding literatures in the minority languages of Poland today. Following World War II and the Yalta decisions, we became a truly national state, nearly without minorities; they do not exceed 1-2 percent of the total population in Poland.

Everything which seemed to be an extremely difficult matter, nearly without a solution, was undone tragically and dismally by the forces of history. Actually, now we no longer have national minorities and, as such, our critics no longer have any concrete motive which would bring them to meditate on the problems of literatures in the minority languages. And, together with them, the cultural amalgam which characterized some Polish cities of earlier times such as Vilno or Lvov and even Warsaw and Krakow before the war, also has disappeared and they had presented certain features particular to the Jewish neighborhoods.

Yet, another opposite trend has appeared in our modern literature and it should be given attention. One of our eminent novelists, Theodor Parnicki, seems to be fascinated with the predominant role given in history to those mixtures of cultures, races, nations. Many others, such as, for example, Andrezej Kusniewicz, whose novels in recent years have had some success in France, or writers like Jaroslaw Iwaszkiewicz, Julian Stryjkowski, Leopold Buczkowski, Tadeusz Konwicki or Czeslaw Milosz, his being the 1980 Nobel Prize winner, show us in their works the world of that cultural crossroads, long ago disappeared, which characterized the eastern region of Poland of another time, when eastern and western influences of Rome and Byzantium met, without, however, forgetting the third element of this mixture: the culture of the Jews living in this part of the country.

If I were asked what exactly is the role of our literary criticism in the problem of minority literature, I would answer that it lies in stressing the efforts which would permit us to better understand the advantages brought by the mixture and interpenetration of various cultures. The myth of pure cultures seems to me to be no less sterile than that of the pure race. National isolationism, rejection of the advantages of cultural exchanges, not merely of the organized ones but also of the spontaneous and natural ones, are nothing more than the burial of culture. The history of all the European nations comes to support this truth.

This seems to me to be the basic problem which the existence of minority literatures poses for literary criticism.

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GOALS OF, REACTIONS TO PACIFIST MOVEMENTS REPORTED

Demands of Pacifist Groups

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 35 No 47, 16 Nov 81 pp 58, 60, 63, 66, 67

[Unattributed article: "Church in the GDR: 'Like Noah During the Deluge'"]

[Text] In the Protestant parishes of the GDR, green [environmentalist] and pacifist groups are becoming active. Their demands: Disarmament in both East and West, social peace service instead of military service, and open discussion of environmental problems. The Protestant fall synods have taken up the cause of the rebellious spirits. So far, the SED has kept silence.

On Friday, 23 October, 120 Protestant GDR citizens--assembled in Schwerin's Wichern Hall--discussed a subject that for the SED does not exist: The hazards of nuclear energy.

The following day, the protestants went into the forests near Luetzow and to Youth Square, in order to tend the park and the woods. In other GDR cities, too, young people--encouraged by their parishes--participated in demonstrative actions aimed at promoting protection of the environment.

In Neustrelitz, 50 young Christians planted 80 linden trees on Gutenbergstrasse. In Gross-Klein, Rostock's bleak new housing development, a group of environmentalists planted lawns, roses and shrubs.

As long as the worthy young people do nothing but beautify socialism, the SED has no objections: The Rostock Parks and Gardens VEB and the Neustrelitz Municipal Services VEB even lent assistance to the volunteer municipal gardeners; but the gardeners want more than just plant greens.

At the end of May, 100 youths from Saalfeld-on-Saale cycled to the countryside, true to their slogan: "Mobile without auto." In the evening, they posted in the church a news-sheet dealing with nature- and environment-related issues.

Saxony's Young Protestant Men's Association put together a slide show on the environment, which is made available to all parishes.

The Wittenberg Church Research House launched an exhibition entitled "Man and His Natural Environment." Thousands of GDR citizens went to see this exhibition--in Dresden's Kreuzkirche [Church of the Cross], in Magdeburg Cathedral, Leipzig's Nikolaikirche, and Saint Wenzel Church in Naumburg.

In Thuringia, the church organ FAITH AND HOMELAND urged the flock to stand up and bleat against the state: The Christians should step up the lodging of protests against any kind of grievance--from noise pollution to the felling of trees.

The paper exhorted the parishioners thereafter to be patient with their state: "When a petition has been filed and no answer has been received yet, they should quietly wait--just as Noah had to wait during the deluge."

According to Peter Wensierski's book on environmental protest actions in the GDR,* the green [environment-oriented] groups among the approximately 7 million Protestants have been flourishing for over 2 years.

Their primary objective is to provide the citizens with what the state withholds from them: Information.

The young people involved in a Schwerin environmental initiative stated their main problem was "that we can obtain only very little information, because very little is published."

Peter Gensichen of the Wittenberg Church Research House complains: "As a GDR citizen, one is keenly aware of the lack of information on environmental problems. Aside from publishing the few success stories in this field, the daily press passes these problems over in silence or belittles them."

To be sure, in some respects the GDR's environmental legislation is more stringent than that of the Federal Republic, but the regulations are only rarely observed: The state-owned enterprises prefer paying stiff fines to investing capital in air filters or sewage treatment plants--plan fulfillment and growth always take precedence over environmental protection (SPIEGEL No 41, 1980).

GDR citizens who want to inform themselves about the pollution of the Unstrut and Weisse Elster rivers, about the dying forests in the vicinity of the Schwarze Pumpe Brown Coal Combine in Cottbus Bezirk [GDR administrative district] or about the outdated safety systems of the nuclear power plants near Rheinsberg and Greifswald must consult the church press: The church papers are not subject to SED control.

The green educators provide approximately 500,000 GDR readers with church papers and mimeographed reports. In a type-written seminar guideline, the Wittenberg ecologists stated that it was necessary "to press for and develop the articulation

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*Peter Wensierski and Wolfgang Buescher, eds., "Beton ist Beton. Zivilisationskritik aus der DDR" [Concrete Is Concrete. Cultural Criticism from the GDR], Hattingen, 1981.

of public opinion." Addressing the Schwerin tree planters, Pastor Gerhard Loetter (Magdeburg) called for "an open, all-encompassing and informed discussion" on nuclear energy and the "social problems connected with it."

The green Christians hope that once environmental consciousness has developed among the GDR population, once a large number of base groups have formed, there will be sufficient pressure to enable them to demand more of the state: Codetermination. Headline of the MECKLENBURGISCHE KIRCHENZEITUNG of 8 November: "Green Is the Color of Hope."

Thus Provost Heino Falcke (Erfurt) demanded that the GDR "give the citizens the opportunity for practicing democratic codetermination." Falcke stated: "It is not right to withhold codetermination from the citizens under the pretext that they are not yet sufficiently mature and then--upon completion of the maturation process--to hand them codetermination like a Christmas present. Besides, in this case the date of the Christmas celebration has not been set."

While the ecologists' call for participation is alarming to the SED--if only because any codetermination involving the people could jeopardize the Party's power monopoly--their drive is much more threatening in another field: Any environmentalist--whether in the East or in the West--who wants to have a say in regard to policies concerning the environment is bound also to work for peace, not only in the world, but also in the homeland.

Thus the Wittenberg Protestants criticize the "increasingly expensive arms race" and they call for peace without armaments: "A society willing to survive must combine the struggle for preservation of peace (primarily through general and total disarmament) with the struggle for the preservation of a viable natural environment and it must take effective measures to accomplish this."

The visitors' book of the touring exhibition "Man and Natural Environment" contained not only the demand "permit and support environmental protection initiatives" but also the call for an "international armament halt."

At present, the pacifist protest voiced in GDR churches and parish halls is occasioned by the Protestant Church's Peace Days, the beginning of which--on Sunday before last--was marked by prayer services and which will end this week on Repentance Day in a memorial service. Motto: "Justice, disarmament, peace."

The Christian Youth Study Group made proposals concerning the sermons and prayers: "We waste raw materials and invest capital in our military security. In all countries, innumerable individuals work for the defense industry. Every day, millions are spent on military projects and the hands of the starving people remain empty."

In their proposals, which were published by the secretariat of the League of Protestant Churches in the GDR, the young Christians recommended as peace hymns songs containing the following passages: "You have risen from the dead. We no longer believe that weapons will help us. The tanks must be left to rot on the roadside. We no longer believe that guards will protect us. The borders in the atlas must disappear."

As early as March, Naumburg students had informed the Magdeburg church administration that they were no longer willing to stand guard at borders and antifascist ramparts: They urged their shepherds to intervene with the GDR leadership in support of a social peace service as an equivalent alternative to military service.

The same demand was raised 2 months later by a group near Dresden: "We are alarmed by the steadily intensifying armament efforts, both those of the West and those of the East."

And in August, when the Central Committee of the World Church Council convened in Dresden, young Christians even drew up a complete bill--to be introduced in the GDR People's Chamber--concerning establishment of a social peace service.

The strength of the movement among the church rank and file is evidenced by the fact that within a few months over 4,000 young men who were drafted or liable to be drafted signed these appeals and submitted them to their state churches: For the Protestants, peace and disarmament became the topic of the year.

Their Federal Synod, which convened in Guestrow in mid-September, set the course: It supported the demand for a "weaponless alternative service for reasons of conscience." It recommended that in talks with the GDR leadership the church administrations seek ways of "furthering this matter."

At their fall conferences, which convened in Goerlitz, Dessau, Halle, Schwerin, Zuessow and Dresden at the end of October and the beginning of November, six of eight state synods intensified their pressure on the SED.

They warned against "trends toward militarization of social life in the GDR" (Mecklenburg State Synod); they criticized "that the military element increasingly permeates our entire social life" (Saxony State Synod) and they encouraged the young people to look "even now for further service opportunities in the social sector" (Goerlitz Synod).

To the Saxons, this insubordination was insufficient. In Halle, they called for "well-planned and coordinated unilateral steps toward disarmament (e.g. reduction of the SS-20 missiles)" and for "reduction of the numerical tank superiority" of the Warsaw Pact (see box) [not reproduced].

For the time being, the SED is countering the sharp protests with well-tried stratagems. Just as it did at the beginning of 1980, when it tried to coopt environment-oriented critics of the system by establishing the Society for Nature and Environment, the Unity Party now is organizing its own peace movement.

Actions of the FDJ [Free German Youth] and the National Front and a Potsdam demonstration involving 50,000 people are extolled in the state press, but these events are directed exclusively against NATO weapons. The resolutions of the synods are passed over in silence by the SED papers.

So far, the SED socialists have refrained from taking steps against the church critics--for good reasons: "If the state resorts to reprisals," said a well-informed observer of Protestantism in the GDR, "there will be eruptions in the Church."

And that would be inopportune to the Protestant leaders as well: They want to be part of the system as "church in socialism," for the alternative would be to perish as an opposition party.

For this reason, the bishops and the SED leaders want to keep alive their communication. After the GDR Christians' protest against the introduction of military instruction in the schools 3 years ago, this is the second test of the new church policy that SED boss Erich Honecker formulated on 6 March 1978 upon consultation with the Protestant leaders: Cooperation instead of confrontation.

At the Federal Synod in Guestrow, Bishop Albrecht Schoenherr expressed his satisfaction about the growing "mutual understanding" between the state and the church. And Honecker, too, recently showed a conciliatory mood: The SED's general secretary said to Schoenherr that there would always be difficulties, "but we will talk about them."

State Secretary Klaus Gysi--in charge of church affairs--likewise adheres to this policy. At the beginning of September, Gysi--addressing theology students of East Berlin's Humboldt University--had categorically rejected any form of social peace service, arguing that that would be equivalent to doing away with universal military service in the GDR.

Gysi warned: "If people feel that in spite of the state's unequivocal stand on this matter they must launch a campaign, this clearly shows that they want confrontation rather than a solution of this problem."

However, at the end of October, during talks with representatives of the Church League, Gysi took a more flexibel position. He stated he did not doubt that those calling for a civilian service were inspired by the best of intentions; but the state had consider world politics and the safety of its citizens, and for this reason introduction of an alternative service was "presently not feasible."

The church leaders persist in their hope that eventually this may be possible. And they have suggested that in the meantime the GDR should make things easier for those refusing to be drafted.

Since 1964, the conscientious objectors have been assigned to special units of the National People's Army: Construction detachments. Between 400 and 450 COs are presently doing their service--unarmed, but wearing uniforms distinguished by gold spades on the shoulder straps--assigned to projects in the military sector. Upon discharge, many of these recruits have difficulty in getting admitted to the university or finding an apprenticeship position.

The Protestants argue that the state could put the construction soldiers to better use by assigning them to urgent nonmilitary projects, thus signaling that it was willing to make concessions to the young people.

According to Bishop Werner Krusche, chairman of the Conference of Protestant Church Administrations and successor to Schoenherr, the demand was not outright rejected and the talks will continue.

At the beginning of November, the SED--reverting to its old practice--followed up its benevolence with a warning. At the reception of the Soviet ambassador to East Berlin, Petr Abrasimov, on the occasion of the 64th anniversary of the glorious October Revolution, SED Politburo member Paul Verner publicly snarled at the bishop, questioning him whether he and his Halle Synod wanted to declare war.

When Krusche defended himself, Gysi intervened with a joke: True to the Marxist claim that churches represent only a passing phenomenon in history, he smugly asked whether Verner really thought the church in the GDR would exist forever.

Church on Alternative Service

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 35 No 47, 16 Nov 81 p. 62

[Excerpts from 4 Nov 81 report of Magdeburg Protestant Church leadership to Synod of Sachsen Church Province, Halle: "'To Be an Irritating Church'"]

[Text] On 4 November, in its report to the Sachsen Church Province Synod, Halle, the Magdeburg Protestant Church leadership called for well-planned steps toward disarmament and for establishment of an alternative service in the social sector. Excerpts:

The church leadership's reports of the last few years ... are characterized by a recurring theme: The responsibility for peace.

In the last few months, the questions in regard to what concrete and effective steps we can take to promote peace have become more pressing than ever. The horrifying acceleration of the arms race and the alarming militarization of public life have given rise among the people to a resigned and fatalistic attitude that worries us. Dashed hopes and unanswered questions make us suspect that there has been created a mechanism that is no longer accessible to human reason.

Our primary task will be not to give in to this resignation--for the sake of the peace granted to us by our Lord; rather, by again and again pondering ways of promoting peace in the world and by steadfastly maintaining contact with those responsible, we must struggle for tangible signals--no matter how small--that will give hope to others. Thus one of the most crucial problems appears to be the concrete affirmation of peace.

It is a small signal that can easily be overlooked in view of all that is happening around us. The intensified armament measures that have been taken in the international arena and by the great powers in particular now have reached astronomical dimensions; in our country, all sectors of society are becoming increasingly militarized--one need only mention the extension of premilitary training, the intensive recruitment of pupils of the Expanded High School for a number of years of military service and the pressure exerted on young people at their university enrollment to sign up for reserve officer training.

While all this is frequently viewed with resignation or even indifference, young people concerned about peace are proposing an alternative service in the social sector, which is to be performed for the duration of 2 years--i.e. for a period of time exceeding that of the normal military service--in the social and health-care sectors. The young people have asked the synods of their home churches to support this initiative.

In the form of numerous petitions, this proposal has been submitted to our synod as well. We know that education to peace means education against passivity. Consequently, we regard this initiative as a gratifying and promising sign.

We are convinced that this is a sign of a genuine will to peace, which--if understood correctly--could internally and externally inspire trust and enable us further to ponder ways of promoting peace.

Harsh rejection could give rise to a resignation that would be harmful to all further efforts toward peace.

It is equally obvious that this initiative does not fail to appreciate the GDR's security need. The obligations which the GDR has entered into vis-a-vis its Warsaw Pact allies in regard to requisite military assistance are not overlooked.

Nor can one overlook the fact that this matter is related to the peace initiatives in the Western states. Negation of the concern about peace that is expressed in these petitions would make the peace initiatives look onesided--especially in West Germany--and thus less credible.

We consider this initiative a promising signal urging us to be patient, to try--in spite of everything--to reach agreement in regard to planned steps toward disarmament.

We are aware of the fact that at first glance these considerations make us appear to be nonconformists. When it is a question of responsibility for peace, the churches cannot simply turn into "amplifiers of the foreign policy of their home country. Churches playing exclusively this amplifier role eliminate themselves as factors in the settlement of conflicts and thus as 'peacemakers'" (W. Krusche). Since "Christian hope is a resistance movement against fatalism," the church in assuming this responsibility will be an "irritating church."

Regime's Reaction

Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 26 Nov 81 p 3

[Commentary from Berlin by Hans Ulrich Kersten, DIE PRESSE correspondent: "Peace Flutes With Dissonant Tunes--The GDR Is Afraid of Pacifism"]

[Text] It could not be put off any longer: Public mention of the "social peace service" demanded by young Christians in the GDR. Last week, before the plenum of the last SED Central Committee session, Werner Walde, Politburo candidate and Party secretary of Cottbus Bezirk [GDR administrative unit], had to take a stand on this demand which had for the first time been raised in May 1981 by a supra-congregational group in Dresden: Establishment of a civilian alternative service in social

institutions for old, sick and handicapped people as an alternative to military service and to the unarmed service in the construction units of the National People's Army. Subsequently, approximately 4,000 parishioners--for the most part young people--had submitted petitions to the synods of the Protestant churches in the GDR, and at their fall conferences, the synods had unanimously supported the initiative.

Unofficially, state representatives had repeatedly told the churches that this form of alternative service was not feasible, since the GDR constitution stipulated universal conscription. In the meantime, the Dresden initiative had become known--via Western stations--in the entire GDR; the Party could no longer remain silent. So the Party sent to the front Comrade Walde from Cottbus. Walde called the "social peace service" an "empty phrase" that had no chance of prevailing against the "necessary military strengthening of socialism, no matter who might advocate such actions opposed to peace, socialism, and the constitution." He stated: "These people forget that our entire republic is a social peace service." What bothers the SED about the "social peace service" demanded is the very name, since it could make the military service in the National People's Army look like an "antisocial war service."

However, it is not this "social peace service" alone which makes likely a confrontation between the Party and the state on the one hand and the Church on the other hand: There are also the numerous open statements of the Protestant synods and of individual church leaders against the increasing militarization of public life in the GDR. For example, the Sachsen Church Province Synod deplores the fact that "the military element increasingly pervades our entire social life"--from the military parades to the kindergarten, from military toys to the civil defense exercises; "all this does not really help to make secure our life and future; it produces fear and at the same time habituates us to war; while it may possibly heighten discipline, it does not enable us to make creative efforts toward peace."

But it is not the churches alone that put the Party and the state on the spot. It is its own tireless campaign against NATO's counterarming and for the Soviet disarmament proposals, for peace in general and for peace in particular that has brought the GDR's state and party leadership to this impasse. To be sure, in the GDR there are no Western-style peace movements, nor are there pacifists openly stating their position. But as the SED intensifies its peace overtures, the questioning of many GDR citizens becomes more critical.

The SED knows full well the tenor of the discussions in the living rooms between the Baltic Sea coast and the Vogtland. It was not without good reason that the STIMME DER DDR recently replied to a letter by a listener (allegedly from the FRG) which had raised the question why there was no adequate peace movement in the GDR. The station replied this was because the differences pertained only to the methods, not to the goals, for "in our country no one need launch a campaign urging the government to do something against the arms race, because everybody knows that our state wants the same things the citizens want and that these are not empty phrases." The GDR is hard put to check and neutralize the Western peace movement reaching the country via the air waves. But by themselves, such replies are not sufficient.

Nor is intensified military propaganda in the country's mass media. The SED agitators seem to have learned from the military: Offense is the best defense. This is the only explanation of the phenomenon that the GDR no longer prohibits--as had

recently been the case--international peace marches across the country; of late, the government has allowed peace forums--for the most part on a smaller scale for reasons of ensuring control. An exception in this regard was the peace demonstration which was staged a few weeks ago on Potsdam's Alter Markt and for which the Party had drummed up 50,000 people. The Party had chosen time and locale very carefully, for the objective was to establish a link with West European peace demonstrators. The Alter Markt was selected, because 36 years ago it had been destroyed by Anglo-American bombs. Apparently, the Party hoped the demonstrators would come to think that the "bad" Anglo-Americans were unlikely to have changed.

The GDR is hard put to explain to its citizens the contradiction between the pacifism in the West, which it jubilantly applauds, and the pacifism in the GDR, which is antisocialist and opposed to progress. It must explain to its citizens that military service in socialism is the true peace service. The FDJ [Free German Youth], the national youth organization, has already been assigned a pertinent project: Next March, all meetings will be held under the motto: "Peace must be defended--peace must be armed." It remains to be seen whether this campaign will be successful. Presently, young GDR citizens are wearing on their lapels buttons bearing the inscription: "Let us turn swords into ploughshares." This is the motto that is inscribed on the sculpture that the Soviet Union once presented to the United Nations in New York.

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MORE WOMEN NEEDED FOR CIVIL DEFENSE POSITIONS

Neubrandenburg FREIE ERDE in German 16 Nov 81 p 4

/Article by H. Schma: "To Learn From the Most Advanced Means To Apply Their Experiences--Civil Defense Forces Assist in Fulfilling the Tasks Set by the Tenth Party Congress To Perfect National Defense"/

/Text/ The district cultural center at Waren on this Saturday morning /13 November/ was host to a meeting which had taken place for the first time in our state in such a form: a conference of those best qualified in civil defense. Its goal was stated by the director of regional civil defense, Heinz Simkowski, chairman of the regional council, in this way:

"We want to be able to apply the best initiatives and methods so as to achieve a measurable growth in the further perfection of civil defense as an integral part of our national defense."

And he explained why this was necessary:

"On these efforts will depend how we will be able to bring to reality the peace program enacted at the 26th Congress of the CPSU and the peace conception of our own 10th Party Congress. What is at stake is the frustration of the rearmament plans and the confrontation policies of the most aggressive and reactionary circles."

It is the declared strategic goal and our most important task--because it is the basis of our existence and essential to socialism--to preserve peace as the most precious possession of mankind. This, our policy, expression of the inextricable unity of peace and socialism, is what justifies our optimism that the world can be saved from a new devastating war.

Growing Political Awareness

The conference made it clear, as seen in many examples, how insight and awareness is growing among our citizens that increasing demands are being made upon our civil defense as a result of complex international developments for the preservation of peace, from the revolution in military technology and the ever greater responsibilities of our national defense. This is especially clear in cities and communities where civil defense exercises have been taking place. It is here that the conviction is growing among the population that the life and health of countless citizens

and the preservation of inestimable material and cultural treasures depend upon a well organized and firmly led civil defense organization, constantly prepared and ready for employment in the event of natural catastrophes and even more so in the event of a state of defense emergency. It was, as shown in the most recent exercise "Peene 81" in Malchin, not just the readiness of the population to cooperate but also the political commitment to the cause which marked the class consciously correct motivation and that also marked thinking and action.

Exercises Well Prepared Ideologically

But that, as Heidelore Marlow, chief of staff for civil defense in Malchin declared, does not happen by itself. "More than 100 political speakers from the National Front explained to the citizens the necessity and goal of the exercise." There were discussions in families and households. Local organizations of the party and trade union groups did the same in factories and work places.

"And we can see," she summed up, "that wherever there was a clear political insight, that things went perfectly." In this connection she pointed to the fact that order and cleanliness in dwellings and work places, basements and floors were important preconditions for resolving the tasks of civil defense.

Heidelore Marlow is the first speaker in the discussion. This underscores the role of women in civil defense.

Major General Kurt Sommer, deputy chief of civil defense in the GDR and head of its political administration, praised the fact that in our district women made up more than 38 percent of the civil defense forces. Yet the goal of 40 percent, although possible and necessary, has still not been achieved in all local districts. For this reason he and other speakers directed attention to the need to recruit more women and girls into civil defense and to create, through the trade unions, the necessary preconditions, such as shelter and day care for children.

The best results were achieved through the united action of the regional leadership of the SED, local government and the Democratic Women's League (DFD) in the Strasburg district. Here the desired percentage of women participating has already been surpassed. The same is true for the districts of Anklam and Teterow.

Active in First Aid Platoons

Women and girls cannot, of course, be used in every capacity. But especially in first aid platoons they have proven, in training and in exercises, how reliable they are. Through their active cooperation in the first aid formations of the ready reserve of the civil defense, through their consciously creative actions, through good cooperation with the health services and the staffs of the civil defense organizations they have been able to achieve remarkable performances.

"By having accepted the responsibility of developing the first aid platoons into reliable formations within the ready reserve of the civil defense organization, as was resolved at the last congress of the German Red Cross," said the leader of the regional committee of the German Red Cross, Josef Fiedler, "we carry a heavy responsibility. Our regional committees and local organizations are proving more and more adequate to the task."

Role of the Trade Union

The work of the trade union was equally stressed at this conference. "Without wanting to slight the contributions of other social organizations," said Heinz Simkowski, "I would still like to talk some more of the responsibility of the largest working class organization." He pointed out and the discussion confirmed this, that the trade union organization has, with growing effectiveness, concentrated its political-ideological efforts upon creating clarity on the questions connected with civil defense, in particular the protection of life and the economy, in the meetings of its membership, in schools of socialist labor as well as in everyday conversations. Trade union works leadership, especially in the state-owned maintenance and repair plant in Neubrandenburg, the tire plant, the food processing machinery plant, the state-owned foundry and engineering works at Torgelow and the Rechlin shipyard, had all shown exemplary influence through their work in reinforcing the defense readiness and capacity of their workers.

Emulating the Most Advanced

The report and discussion cited further good examples and experiences. The districts which had labored most consistently for the overall execution of civil defense efforts were Anklam, Malchin, Neubrandenburg city district, Strasburg, Teterow and Waren. They had achieved these results because:

--they had in all areas of civil defense achieved political leadership through the party;

--they had regularly analyzed what had been attained and were working out further measures under firm leadership of the civil defense organization;

--they had made prompt and appropriate leadership decisions for local government bodies and their councils;

--they had not only carefully planned and carried out all measures and activities but had also implemented rigorous controls and accountability;

--they had worked constantly and effectively with the other regional military staffs of the district and collaborated creatively with all the parties and social organizations represented in the National Front.

The participants in the conference pledged to make better use of these experiences and to emulate the most advanced of them in a letter to the secretary-general of our party, Erich Honecker:

"We assure you that we are aware of the high responsibility of achieving the perfection of our national defense," it was stated in the letter. "We promise to do everything in our power to make the great experiences of our best participants quickly and distinctly applicable in the whole district, so that the leadership and mobilization readiness of the civil defense organization can be assured."

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RELATION OF SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY TO HUMANISM, PROGRESS

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 21, 5 Nov 81 pp 18-21

[Article by Mihail Florescu, minister secretary of state in the National Council for Science and Technology: "Science and Technology, Humanism and Progress"]

[Text] During the period 26 August to 3 September 1981, the capital of our country hosted the 16th International Congress on the History of Science, an event of special importance for international scientific affairs. The proceedings of the congress enjoyed the high patronage of comrade academician engineer Dr Elena Ceausescu, a member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, a first deputy prime minister of the government and the president of the National Council for Science and Technology.

The congress was organized by the International Union of History and the Philosophy of Science (the Division on the History of Science) and by the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania. The carrying out of the proceedings of this high scientific forum in Bucharest - after the previous congresses were held in Florence, Bruxelles, New York, Madrid, Warsaw, Paris, Moscow, Tokyo and Edinburgh, cities with rich scientific traditions - is positive proof of the activities of hir value conducted by Romanian scientists and researchers and of the prestige that ocialist Romania's policy of peace, understanding and cooperation enjoys on the international level.

The general theme of the congress, "Science and Technology, Humanism and Progress," expresses the high ideals under whose sign its proceedings were carried out as an expression of the relationships between scientific progress and social progress and of using the advances of science exclusively for peaceful purposes and in the service of progress and civilization.

Our people's entire history of over 2,000 years and its struggle over the centuries for the defense of its national being and for liberty and progress illustrate the significant role played by science, culture and the people in those fields in the development of Romanian society. In all the decisive moments of our advance through history - in the struggle for the formation and development of national awareness, for the unification of the Romanian principalities, the acquisition of independence and the creation of a unified national state, and for the carrying out of the social and national liberation revolution - scientists have worked as ardent patriots, as spokespersons for the ideas advanced in the social revolution, dedicating all their activities to the cause of the country's prosperity and progress.

In her speech at the opening of the proceedings of the 16th International Congress on the History of Science, comrade academician engineer Dr Elena Ceausescu pointed out: "In the spirit of this rich scientific tradition, which we continue to develop under the new conditions of today, Romania places the newest advances of science and technology at the basis of all works to build the new social order, providing all the conditions for the powerful development of scientific research, education and culture - as essential factors for the acceleration of the country's economic and social progress and for the raising of the general level of the people's well-being and civilization. At the same time, we are promoting a broad scientific and technical cooperation with numerous countries in the world."

The development of collaboration and cooperation between people of science and culture in all countries and the broad exchange of scientific experience and data on an international level constitute a fundamental condition for progress. The revolution in science and technology is penetrating ever more deeply into the secrets of nature. Under these conditions, science no longer recognizes borders, it has become a common good of all of mankind. Current civilization is rapidly evolving through the contributions of all nations to the growth of the world's store of knowledge. The history of science in our era demonstrates that each people - large or small - can make a contribution of significance to the development of science and to the growth of the universal treasure of the scientific and technical creations, which must benefit broadly all the nations regardless of differences.

The diverse and vast thematic content, the current relevancy of the problems discussed at the congress, as well as the optimum conditions provided for the achievement of the broadest possible exchange of ideas, brought about the participation of nearly 700 specialists from over 50 countries, in addition to approximately 300 Romanian specialists.

In affirming the unity of science in general and the ever closer relationships between the different branches of scientific knowledge, the ties between science's past, its present and its future were analyzed within the framework of the congress's proceedings. It appears ever clearer today that the study of the past does not represent a goal in itself. Understanding the historical process of the development of science opens the path towards understanding the present and deciphering the future. Without the new methods of historical-scientific research, synthesized results cannot be obtained regarding the development of science or we cannot understand the paths and laws of this development. It is necessary to have the specific pursuit of the manner in which scientific concepts appeared and the manner in which hypotheses were transformed into scientific theory and their impact upon social-economic progress. Only by knowing the development of the different fields of knowledge, the epistemological process of creating the scientific disciplines and the appearance of paradigms can one see in which directions knowledge will evolve in the future, where answers must be sought to the still unresolved problems.

In the over 1,000 reports and in the discussions on the reports presented in the 14 scientific sections, 12 symposia, 7 thematic sessions and 4 commemorations, as well as during the roundtable on the theme "Future Trends in Science and Technology Aiming at a Human Development," the participants at the 16th International Congress on the History of Science discussed a series of problems of vital interest for current science and society.

The Development of Human Knowledge

The history of science has been relatively recently created as an independent discipline and as a recognized profession. Perhaps the major source of the, until recently, low level of interest in the history of science has been that frequently it was felt that historical studies could not teach today's researcher anything fundamentally new because everything that had been acquired of significance on the factual, theoretical or methodological level throughout history, which extends back over the millenia, has been included and conserved in the current stage of one discipline or another, with current science being the result of an extended selection process that eliminated out-dated concepts, preserving only those that are truly scientifically valid. It is usually believed that if a researcher has mastered a scientific law and the ability to apply it in solving a variety of problems, who precisely discovered that law and when is only of a secondary interest.

It should be stressed that the problem itself raised by the study of the history of science is complex and it requires - from the person who studies it - not only understanding the ideas in the field the person intends to study, but for each one of these ideas understanding the stage that was characteristic of them during different periods. This is even more important where the manner of understanding, explaining and interpreting a phenomenon was completely different in the past than in our times.

Until recently, the histories of the different branches of science were usually written by the researchers in that field and they did not principally follow a theoretical objective, but rather a pragmatic one, with these representing pedagogical "sub-products" of scientific activities through which the concepts of the discipline were explained and their traditions were determined. This tendency finds its origins in the technical treatises of ancient times and in those several independent histories of the more developed sciences (mathematics, astronomy, medicine). In the revolution in science and technology in the modern age, which began with the Renaissance, in addition to this tradition which is continuing, there also appear other orientations due to the great discoveries and their influence upon the development of society.

The traditional directions of the concerns of the history of science thus were to clarify and further the understanding of the scientific methods and concepts by disclosing their evolution. Working in such a direction, the historian deliberately selects a single science or a branch of it, whose body of knowledge cannot be in doubt, and describes when, where and how those elements were created that currently constitute their object and methods, keeping in mind the observations, hypotheses, and theories that were recorded as moments of this development. Under the impact of various influences - the development of historical-philosophical studies, the movement from the histories of certain particular disciplies to the general history of science and the ever more powerful affirmation of Marxist philosophy and sociology in science - the "justificationist" view of science was modified.

In addition to an explosive growth in the number of studies, the current stage of the history of science is experiencing a change of an epistemological nature, too. The manner itself of researching the history of science has been radically restructured. If before this was either an extension of scientific activities or a philosophical work, now it tends to become a research effort with its own relatively independent

objectives, norms and values, and with a major epistomologial significance. At the same time, far from isolating itself from the other scientific fields, it is a component part of the complex study - logically, methodologically and psychosociologically - of overall scientific knowledge. In this process, which has become ever more accentuated in recent decades, the history of science has gradually moved from the stage of being a "chronicle" of events and of relating the lives of the great scientists and the circumstances in which they achieved their discoveries to that of giving a conceptual explanation of the historical development of science, aiming at establishing and perpetuating certain traditions of scientific research, understanding the factors that occur in the revolutionary changes in science, the methods of scientific investigation specific to certain determined periods, the norms and values specific to certain scientific communities and so forth. As a result, the history of science is assuming a dual purpose - sociological and epistomological, in other words, it will contribute to the understanding of science as a social phenomenon and as a means of knowledge.

In referring to the development of the history of science in Romania, it should be mentioned that in Romania there is a tradition of works on theoretical themes of this nature, with such works having a broad international exposure. We have in mind, for example, the works by Petre Sergescu regarding the origins and history of mathematics and physics, works that appeared in the 1930's in Paris, the studies in the history of linguistics by Eugen Coseriu, the studies about the development of logic by Dan Badarau and Athanase Joja, the "History of Logic" by Anton Dumitru and others. The creation of the Romanian Committee for the History and Philosophy of Science, with its specialized publication NOESIS by the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, has encouraged these research efforts even more. In addition to the monographs and studies that dealt with the theoretical problems of the history of science, the history of the development of certain technical fields also came to the attention of Romanian researchers, such as aviation, energy, petroleum and others, fields where Romanian specialists have had and have significant contributions.

Despite all this, we cannot lose sight of certain shortcomings in the concerns of the history of science and technology compared to those regarding the history of other fields (art, literature, philosophy). This gap is not only of a quantitative nature, but also with regards to the degree of in-depth study of the problems. Sometimes there is still a descriptive nature in certain works with the stressed placed on inventories of certain data and an insufficient sociocultural perspective. A critical spirit and the historical analysis of the appearance and disappearance of certain theories and the correlation of the evolution of certain disciplines with the evolution of others and with the development of society and culture are poorly represented in the studies that have been done. Similarly, it could be stated that an appropriate view still has not be outlined regarding the manner in which the evolution of science has influenced the evolution of philosphy, art and literature, as well as the manner in which these three influenced science.

The insufficiencies of some of these works have caused a series of Romanian priorities to be removed from international attention or to be erroneously attributed to certain scholars in other countries. The cases of Nicolae Paulescu, Daniel Danielopolu, Stefan Odobleja, Spiru Haret and others are well-known. That is why the understanding

of the mechanisms that could generate international scientific relations that could influence the interests of certain countries is important not only for the reestablishment of the historical truth, but also for avoiding the repetition of certain situations of this nature.

Science and Development

The scientific and technical revolution is one of the essential characteristics of our era. It represents an all-encompassing worldwide phenomenon of great significance for the development of mankind which is bringing about profound transformations in the field of production forces, the social and economic structure of society, and in the area of spiritual values and knowledge, as well as in the scientific concept about the world, nature and society.

In our age, through scientific knowledge we have arrived at the point of influencing human existence, the quality of life and the level of civilization. Even if science has a long history, it has never affected the man's life in its totality as it does today. Without the day-to-day application of the newest advances of scientific knowledge and technical achievements, mankind would be in a situation where it would stagnate or regress.

The second-half of our century is characterized by such a level of development of science and technology that the most daring projects can become a reality as long as the human and material means are present. It is a demonstrated truth by the cosmic explorations, by the development of air transportation, by the possibility of practically simultaneously transmitting information from and to any point of the globe and by the automation and ever more advanced computerization of production, as well as by many other achievements which, 2 or 3 decades ago, appeared to be part of science fiction literature. Man has succeeded in penetrating deeply into the microstructure of matter, in deciphering the mechanisms of life and heredity, in better understanding earth and the planetary system and in uncovering the secrets of the universe at great distances.

We are seeing the discovery and use of certain new sources of energy, the creation of certain materials having preestablished properties and certain technologies with impressive levels of efficiency and the automation and computerization of management activities in production and economic affairs. In the process of bringing science closer to production, a special role is played by bringing research closer to production, thus reestablishing the unity between science and work on a higher plane. The results of the technical-scientific revolution have increased man's powers over nature, resolving numerous contradictions facing the environment and, in the absence of a humanist control, provoking other new, perhaps more dramatic problems than the ones that were resolved.

It is an incontestable truth that under the conditions of such revolutionary transformations the future of a nation depends, in the final analysis, upon its ability to adapt to a permanently changing world. Precisely for that reason, the more economic

and social-political development depend upon science and its continuing progress, the more it is absolutely necessary for society to resolve and pursue in a scientifically rigorous manner the conditions for this development.

In all the countries of the world, scientific research has become a national-level problem, making available to it the great amount of funds necessary for technical equipment and personnel. In addition to the universities, the traditional place for carrying out scientific activities, this has become a problem involving the participation of great industrial production, agriculture and so forth, with their own vast networks of research.

Scientific knowledge is today characterized by an especially rapid growth, doubling every 10 years; and it contributes to the elaboration of certain new theories and to the growth in the number and diversification of the scientific and technical disciplines. The period needed to introduce into practice the results of research has fallen from dozens of years in the last century to 3 to 5 years, as has happened with transistors and the laser. Over 90 percent of the scientists and scientific researchers who have ever lived during the entire history of science are alive today. Enormous means have been developed for specialized information (for example, in 1800 there were 100 magazines, in 1900 the number had increased to 10,000, in 1960 100,000 works were published and the forecasts for the year 2000 are for 1 million).

Our country is also involved in this giant effort of scientific activity. It is sufficient to mention only several synthetic indicators in order to demonstrate the powerful development in recent years of the scientific research in Romania. In 1965, the number of people involved in research was 50,000, in 1980 it was 200,000 and in 1985 it is forecast to be 245,000. Fixed assets in 1980 were 4.5 times greater than in 1965 and expenditures for research increased from 5 billion lei (the 1961-1965 five year plan) to 48 billion lei in the 1976-1980 five year plan and will reach 70 billion lei in the 1981-1985 five year plan.

All this shows how close the tie is between the process of developing science and the process of developing society.

The great discoveries in science and technology, as well as their effects, are broadly treated in the models for economic development - models that have evolved from simple ones based upon the functions of production and the combination of production functions towards more complex models that take into account factors determined by the development of science and technical progress. This technical progress constitutes, in the models that deal with the global problems of mankind, a fundamental element for future analysis.

Science and Social Progress

The progress of civilization through science stems primarily from science's ability to generate new data for use and to create new technical solutions that will ensure either a new satisfaction of certain known needs or the satisfaction of certain new needs, without even slightly negating its contribution to the growth of labor

productivity and to the reduction of material costs in the production processes that achieve the new items for use. At the same time, the efficiency that is obtained with the help of science is tied to the evolution and propagation over-time of certain quantitative accumulations which lead to a new economic quality.

From the point of view of the places where they are obtained, the economic effects of scientific research can be: a) economic effects at the research and technological engineering units, expressed in the benefits obtained as a result of carrying out scientific activities, services, technical assistance and the use of microproduction; b) economic effects at production units that directly or indirectly benefit from the results of scientific activities (the producers or the consumers of new technology). Similarly, the economic effects of research can also be calculated according to the nature of the results obtained by the production units using these results - either as an increase in the net income as a result of applying the results of scientific research and technological engineering to production or as savings in allocated human, material or financial resources. According to certain estimates, the funds invested in science have an efficiency of approximately 3.5 times greater than those allocated for investments in the production of material goods.

Basic research is that research which ensures future technical and economic development. It has become a necessary premise for any progress, on the condition that it will be permanently requested and will be expressed in practical applications. And, if basic research must figure among the essential objectives of a dynamic society, applied research and technological development represent basic conditions for the use of the new acquisitions of scientific knowledge, thus justifying society's efforts, which are frequently considerable, that it has agreed to make for the progress of science.

In any case, only by balancing these types of research - basic and applied - can there be a response to the need for the problem of scientific research to be place, on one hand, at a sufficiently high level and, on the other hand, to have such a diversified content so as to be able to constitute a reservoir which, when permanently renewed, will supply the needs of practice. This must be achieved by including in the problems of research those objectives that will also be the answers to immediate requirements, as well as those of a long-term or a very long-term nature. Neglecting one of these two inseparable facets of research in favor of the other creates impasses and interruptions in the natural flow, in the continuity of scientific research and, as a result, in their opportunities to make their contributions to broadening knowledge, to developing the means of production, to organizing the means of production and social labor and to the improvement of man's material and spiritual living conditions.

Man, Science, Nature

During the congress, there was a roundtable discussion with the theme "Future Trends in Science and Technology Aiming at a Social and Human Development," organized by the Academy of Social and Political Sciences and the International Federation for the Study of the Future. For 2 days, there were sustained discussions, with this theme being considered one of the most important in the congress's program. referring to

the ties between the results obtained in science and technology and future social and human development. The more than 50 scientists who participated in these discussions presented specific proposals for the solution of the great problems that are today troubling mankind in the fields of development and peace.

The examination of the consequences of scientific and technical progress upon the economic and social development has acquired public importance and has become a basic political problem because of certain new, unknown or omitted aspects. The transformation of nature through work (and through technology) has an ambivalent nature: the satisfaction of human needs is frequently accompanied by the degrading of the environment. Uncontrolled technical evolution, the pursuit of immediate profits and the capitalist exploitation of natural and human resources as caused the degrading of the environment to become profound and to take on worldwise dimensions. As such, any attempt to resolve these ambivalent manifestations of progress only by calling upon science and technology cannot resolve the problem of ecological balance and the natural ecosystems. What is required is a political and social solution that will be able to direct science and technology towards human goals.

Attention is especially being directed intensely towards the concept of the quality of life, a concept that allows involving, in their dialectical unity, the improvement of living conditions, as well as the rational exploitation of natural resources and the preservation of the natural framework within which life is developing. The evaluations regarding the "quality of life" do not exhaust, however, the entire problem of the status, performance and future of a social system. Furthermore, society cannot evolve in the future by merely taking into consideration the aspirations and desires of the people as individuals. Society and nature, humanism and the environment are not absolutely distinct entities, but rather constituent parts in interaction in the social system and the natural system, which mutually influence each other.

The most interesting characteristic of the society-nature correlation is the bidirectional process, on one hand, because of science man is acquiring a growing independence with regards to nature while, on the other hand, a new form of dependency is appearing because of the generally limited dimensions and resources of earth. This new situation, characteristic of the relationships between society and nature under current conditions and of the scientific and technical revolution, confirms one of Marx's thesis which pointed out, over 100 years ago, the existence of certain trends and countertrends in social progress and the fact that only by rationally combining these will the result appear that will lead to the establishment of certain stages in the development of the history of mankind.

The practice and even the concept of "mastering" and "conquering" nature has basically meant an attitude of a master and a conqueror in man, and meant the irrational exploitation of nature, a true aggression against nature within which there was no consideration given to the existence of certain natural laws and rules which could not and cannot be identified with or confronted by those of society. The ecological crisis is the result of this lack of agreement and certain abnormal relationships between society and nature stemming from previous years and aggravated during our century.

The isolation and, at the same time, the simplification of certain processes, phenomena and correlations and the failure to take into consideration certain concepts can only but have damaging and sometimes catastrophic results. Being aware of these truths and taking, as a result, the necessary measures to avoid certain negative and destructive results, people must, at the same time, keep in mind and to no less a degree foresee the new effects of their efforts brought about by the desire to correct the effects of certain prior actions. Basically, the correlation must be redefined between society and nature and between man and the environment. In this major problem, one of the lines of the strategic orientation must be not confusing either the goals with the means or vice versa, but ensuring an absolutely organic correlation between them.

Attaining certain objectives such as, for example, general well-being cannot be achieved by destroying the environment. The times have passed of a dizzying economic development based upon the waste of cheap resources. Between the parts of a single entity, such as society-nature, there must be a rational interconnection. Human society, as a part of nature, must not enter into a conflict or a contradiction with nature if it wants to survive.

Nor can the problem be presented in the sense of "returning" to archaic and primitive ways or in the sense of creating a so-called consumer society, which in fact is a society of waste and disorder. A unified and harmonious development must be ensured and new correlations and a new balance must be created with a dynamic nature between man and the biosphere, between society and nature in general.

The resolution of these problems is possible only on the basis of elaborating certain scientific models for development, including on the basis of calling for the elimination of the underdevelopment in two-thirds of the world's population and urgently stopping the arms race which, in addition to destroying huge production forces, threatens to destroy civilization and life on earth. It seems that in this direction the number of unresolved and insufficiently clarified problems is much greater than the number of those resolved. The study of such global aspects can be done efficiently only through the united efforts of scientists in all countries and on all continents, despite the differences between their social-economic orders and views regarding the world and society.

One subject broadly commented upon at the congress was the high responsibility of all the scholars in the world in increasing their permanent and active contribution for the consolidation of peace and for mutual knowledge, understanding and cooperation. This was a leitmotif for the majority of the discussions and debates that were conducted.

As was stressed in the participants' message at the 16th International Congress on the History of Science, "animated by the noble ideals of humanity, by the aspirations for the progress and prosperity of the people and by the high professional, moral and social responsibilities of all the researchers and creators of values, we express our conviction that people of science and culture everywhere can make an active and permanent contribution to strengthening peace, understanding, mutual trust and cooperation

between nations and to ensuring peace on our planet." And, further, "we have the mission of high responsibility to make science, technology and culture a decisive factor for their resolution and for the elimination of inequality, gaps and underdevelopment. Let us consider it a noble moral duty for each of us to work so that the great achievements of the all-encompassing technical-scientific revolution in the contemporary era and of art and culture will serve only man and his legitimate hopes for freedom, prosperity and progress!"

People of Science and Peace

Aware of the fact that the responsibility of scientists, in the alternative of peace or war, is but one - that of defending peace, the participants at the symposium "People of Science and Peace" called upon all people working in science, regardless of their political, philosophical religious or other beliefs, to work together with the people of their countries in order to stop the aggravation of the international situation and the policy of arms build-up and in order to resume and directly continue the course towards detente, peace and a broad international cooperation.

Under today's conditions, when on the worldwide level there are numerous problems of an economic, social and political nature, scientists have the high duty of increasing their contribution ever more to the resolution of these problems in the interest of all the nations. It has been shown fully decisively that there is a need for scientific discoveries to be used for the elimination of the great gaps between the rich and poor countries of the world, for the elimination of the state of underdevelopment and the eradication of the undernourishment and illnesses that continue to cut down hundreds of millions of people, for the protection and conservation of the environment and the discovery of new energy and raw materials resources and for the solution of the problems related to food, water, health and others upon which the quality of life on earth, progress, and the future of all of mankind depend.

In this regard, there also was the appeal of the participants at the symposium to all scientists and their national and international associations to organize appropriate forms of cooperation, regardless of their national, ideological or political differences, in order to ensure that science will be used exclusively according to its humanist calling. To this end, it was proposed that an international initiatives committee be created that would be called upon to organize the scientists' actions to uncover the dangers presented by the frenetic arms race, and first of all the nuclear arms race, to inform the public about these dangers and elaborate specific measures in order to prevent them and to prepare a world congress of scientists in support of peace.

The symposium's participants' appeal stated: "We address the people in science and intellectuals everywhere to stand alongside this committee, to work together with us in this noble activity dedicated to peace and to do everything so our opinions will be heard at the United Nations, at the Geneva disarmament conference and in all international fora that discuss disarmament, peace and international security and cooperation. Let us serve with high devotion the noble ideals of peace, let us do our duty with regards to our own conscience, our contemporaries and the supreme headquarters of humanity, let us offer mankind a future in accordance with their precious

aspirations and their creative powers, and let us hold high in proof everything of value that human civilization has created over the centuries!"

The appeal of the scientists who met in Bucharest had a broad echo throughout the entire world. The message and the appeal were adopted as official documents of the United Nations, thus proving their great humanist value, in full agreement with the will of all the people to ensure peace on earth.

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PERFECTING OF SOCIAL, POLITICAL RELATIONS IN WORKERS DEMOCRACY

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[Article by Nicolae Kallos of Cluj-Napoca: "Perfecting Social and Political Relations in the Process of Advancing Our Workers Democracy"]

[Text] That which is currently called the creative implementation and development of Marxism is the result of a political creativity that is being expressed both in the sphere of social-political practice and in the realm of theory. The supreme standard of the creativity of the revolutionary party of the working class and the working masses is, above all, the achievements and creations in the realm of social-political affairs. Using the known words of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the affirmation of the superiority of socialism cannot be accomplished merely through statements, but rather, first of all, through the manner in which we resolve economic problems, problems regarding the people's working and living conditions and problems of a social nature, including, first of all, those for the development of socialist democracy and the improvement of social and political relations and the management of society. The superiority of the socialist organization of society must be demonstrated by facts and realities.

Certainly, it is no less true that the attainment of such practical achievements depends, first of all, upon the justness of the party's political line and its understanding of how to creatively implement and develop revolutionary theory. The workers' acquisition of political power and the creation of the premises for socialism and even socialist economic and sociopolitical relations represent, in a sense, an historical chance that must be wisely used. The manner and the degree in which this historical chance is used depends, in the final analysis, upon the party's political creativity.

In the analysis of political creativity and the theoretical and practical activities conducted to improve social-political relations and the corresponding institutional system, it seems to me that the central problem is the relationship between theory and practice. The study of this relationship, as well as the adoption of a determined attitude towards it, has proven to be indispensable for any social-political movement during any era. Never before and nowhere else has the requirement for such a correspondence, such harmony and such unity between theory and practice been formulated, and it is being formulated, with so much insistence as it is in the workers movement. It is known that there have been - and still are - attempts to break their unity by concentrating exclusively or primarily upon one or the other, just as we know of the disastrous results of such attempts both for practice and for theory.

The principles of scientific socialism regarding the correlations between theory and practice in general, and political theory and political practice in particular, are known. Revolutionary theory is not a dogma, but a guide for action. Without revolutionary theory there is no revolutionary practice. By penetrating into the masses, theory becomes a material force. Practice is blind without theory, theory is lacking substance without practice. We could continue listing such principles, whose validity is incontestable. At the same time, we are seeing a certain dissatisfaction due to the fact that in our studies (including several signed by the author of this article) we rarely go beyond the sphere of these truths even though in the relationship between theory and practice the more difficult problems begin just beyond these truths. At the risk of knocking, perhaps, on open doors, we will recall several of these which, at least for this author, still constitute subjects for thought and research.

We are thinking, first of all, of the fact that both theory and practice have multiple forms, levels and spheres, and the relationships between them can be especially complex, deep and. more than once, contradictory.

Postulating the need to check the theory in practice, both our methodological principles and, especially, historical experience reject the utilitarian point of view which considers practical successes as the exclusive criterion of the justness of a theory. From such a utilitarian view, it would remain inexplicable why, on the basis of an overall just theory, it is possible to be incorrect in practice or vice versa, just as satisfying results can sometimes be obtained despite certain insufficiencies in the theory. Both the theory and the practice must demonstrate their validity, both outside of their own spheres (theory in practice and practice in relation to theory) and within their own spheres. Revolutionary theory cannot be advanced and developed without revolutionary practice and, at the same time, it does not stem exclusively from practice and cannot be exclusively developed on the basis of practice, and even to a lesser degree - as has happened and still sometimes happens - from the need to justify a certain practice.

Things become even more complicated if we consider the fact that theory (we are referring, naturally, always to theories in the field of the socio-human sciences and especially to political theory), in addition to scientific theses in the strict sense of the word also blended with theory, also contains principles derived from views about the world and life and from value options. Just as in political practice, in addition to elements of the science of management or other elements, we could say, that are of a technical nature, there is also an expression of that which causes politics to also be art and not just science. In addition to its scientific basis, political creativity is also distinguished by an ideological-axiological basis. Not everything that is new is at the same time good and useful; not everything that is old is rejected; a certain thing is not desired to the same degree as another. An option for a certain possibility is guided by the ideological-axiological view of a political subject, a view that must be combined with the scientific spirit but is not reduced merely to this spirit. Options represent the most important, specific content of the political act; expressing the desired situation and the decision ot achieve it, an option constitutes, at the same time, an important moment in political creativity, with this being defined as the ability to change a situation into a desired situation. As has been demonstrated by the prestigious authors of our specialized literature, despite the growth of the area covered by science in determining options, they remain and will continue to remain for a long time under the basic influence of the system of values and ideals being pursued. The political decisions that involve the destiny of

the entire community cannot be subordinated merely to certain operational, efficient criteria of a technical nature. They must also incorporate broader exigencies stemming from the system of values of the respective society. In our society, the most important domestic and foreign political options are selected from ideological-axiological considerations, being based, at the same time, upon the scientific analysis of the given situation and its development trends.

The most complex problems of the relationship between theory and practice arise when we speak of implementing theory. The principal difficulty lies in the fact that the most superb theory does not contain the specific means for implementing it. Perhaps it will not be out-of-place if we use a term here that is in fashion, that of know-how - of knowing, of understanding how to do something exactly. This know-how represents an indispensable link between theory and its practical implementation. For example, any physicist in any country today knows what a microprocessor is. But, few countries know how to produce microprocessors. Marxist theory about the nature of social-political relationships in socialism and about the organic tie between socialism and democracy has been elaborated in its principles lines. It, this theory in itself, does not contain that know-how that establishes what and how things must be done within a given country with given national and social characteristics, with a certain tradition and historical legacy, finding itself at a certain level of economic-social development, in a certain international context, in order to attain a practical creation and proper operation of the institutional and organizational frameworks of socialist democracy. In "Critica programului de la Gotha" [Criticism of Gotha's Program], Marx foresaw that "freedom lies in the transformation of the state from an organ placed upon society into one completely subordinate to society." However, naturally there was no formula that would show what and how things must be done, for example, in Romania in the second half of the 20th century in order to achieve this process.

Because of the twisting nature of the path traveled by the communist movement, by Marxism and by socialism, the sufficiently great difficulties and so forth of implementing the theory in practice have been complicated even more following the distortions made to the theory and imposition of certain incorrect practices. More than once the studies dedicated to creativity felt that one of the fundamental criteria of a new approach was the original nature of the things, phenomena and ideas that were produced. The creative nature of our party's program and its political philosophy are demonstrated precisely through the broad variety of certain problems of maximum importance that are covered, problems that are new or looked at in a new way in new terms, as well as through the scientifically substantiated answers and creative solutions given to these problems. We would still add, however, that in certain historical moments the simple statement of certain well-known truths and the decision and ability to dispel distortions and to establish the truth represent not only an act of courage and political and scientific honesty, but also an expression of creativity. Not only the establishment, but, under certain conditions, also the reestablishment of the truth also requires moments of creativity, keeping in mind the effort necessary to eliminate certain erroneous and mystifying concepts and to draw certain conclusions from the reestablished truths for the purpose of practical activities.

In this regard, we refer to a concept of overwhelming importance formulated by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the conclusion of the proceedings of the 12th Congress regarding the need to carry out socialism in its true light, socialism and communism of mankind.

This concept - organically linked to that of the multilaterally developed socialist society - without a doubt serves, among other things, to overcome certain distorting and sectarian concepts about socialism. We are speaking, naturally, not only of concepts, but also of certain practices of the past and of certain states of affairs in a society which, from some economic, social and political points of view, could be characterized as socialist, but where the principles of socialism suffer grave distortions and socialism does not shine in its true light as a result.

Workers and socialist democracy represents a fundamental concept in the scientific analysis of social-political relations in our country during the current stage and of the ways to improve these relations.

The historical experiences and results of the practical activities of the Romanian Communist Party confirm the unalterable validity of the concepts of the founders of scientific socialism referring to the organic connection between socialism and democracy. Socialism is inconceivable without democracy for at least two reasons. First, the working class could not have arrived at the threshold of the socialist revolution and could not have carried it out without first having been consistently at the head of all the democratic movements and if it had not been a promoter of democracy. Second, because socialism cannot consolidate and complete its achievements and cannot develop along the path to communism without having a real and authentic democracy.

Socialist democracy is different from the other historical types of democracy because of a number of essential characteristics. The superiority of socialist democracy in comparison to bourgeois democracy stems from a number of factors, among which the following appear to us to be the most important. First, the fact that socialist democracy is based upon the elimination of fundamental economic and social inequalities and antagonistic contradictions between classes, and upon socialist relations in production and distribution.

Second, the superiority of socialist democracy is fueled by the fact that it does not constitute merely a form of statal organization, but rather represents an organizational principle and framework that is expressed in all spheres of social affairs and activities, from economic affairs to cultural-scientific and spiritual affairs.

Historical experience demonstrates that the organic link between socialism and democracy does not result in the creation of the socialist power for the workers, of socialist production relations and of the socialist order in and of itself and does not automatically ensure the affirmation of socialist democracy. Socialist democracy cannot be other than the results of certain consistent and persistent efforts. It is especially necessary to create the organizational and institutional frameworks for socialist democracy and to ensure their efficient operation, especially since socialist democracy is not confined solely to state organization, but involves all the spheres of social organization and leadership.

In connection with the continuing development of socialist democracy and with the creation and development of its organizational and institutional frameworks, within dialectical and propaganda activities we more than once encounter the following question: if socialism and democracy are inseparable, then how do we explain this

process of the development of democracy, why do we not achieve full democracy immediately and once and for all?

For the same reason why socialism cannot be achieve "in a single blow," with it being necessary to pass through successive stages of development. The achievement and development of socialist democracy cannot be conceived other than as a process whose forward progress depends upon an entire series of factors. The level of development of socialist democracy is determined by the development of social relations, first of all by production relations, by the processes that taken place in economic and social affairs in the hierarchical structure of society, by the historical traditions and historical experiences of the people and by a series of other factors. The problems of democracy, of freedom and so forth, cannot be dealt with scientifically other than by keeping in mind specific historical and social conditions. One condition is the level of development of democracy in a poorly-developed country or in a developing nation and another is the conditions under which this country will be strongly developed. Along this line of thought, we feel that the recent measures to improve social-political relations and workers democracy that were outlined, among others, at the Second Workers Congress are not explained by the fact that barely just now there has been an expression of the desire and will to carry them out, but, not last of all, by the processing of moving our country from the stage of a developing nation to a country having an average level of development and by the accumulation of achievements and experience in the development of socialist social-political relations. One condition is the level of development of socialist democracy corresponding to the current structure of society and to the current level of awareness of the masses, and another will be the conditions of a fully homogenized social structure when the level of the masses' awareness reaches that of the leading political force in society. It is not at all accidental that in the Party Program the expressions "full democracy" and "true democracy" are used only in the context of moving to communism. Furthermore, the program clearly specifies: "Socialist democracy will develop to the degree (our emphasis) of raising the level of training and ability of the workers and of broadening their ideological and political horizon of knowledge." Perhaps we are not wrong when we interpret this not in the sense that somewhere a supreme judge decides and evaluates when and to what degree this raising and broadening is achieved, offering the masses the appropriate compensations, but in the sense that precisely those who work, because of the new stages of development and maturity that they reach, will know that they are better served by democracy and that the increased role of direct, participative democracy constitutes the result of a natural process, with socialist democracy being transformed more and more from a democracy for the people - as it was on a priority basis in the first phases of building a socialist society - into a democracy made and created by the people.

The foundation of our worker, socialist democracy and the social and political relations in our country is the power of the workers, a power in which the leading role is played by the working class led by the communist party. We are referring to this especially well-known truth with the idea that its thorough explanation in our didactic and propaganda activities seems to us to be of especially current relevancy and importance. It is unnecessary for us stress this current relevancy through the prism of certain events in other countries. In our opinion, in recent times in propaganda and publishing activities there has been nearly exclusively or, in any case, too much stress on the ethical aspects and components of democracy, at the expense of showing the so-called political and politiological aspects. If the procedure has an

explanation, being a natural reaction to the unilateral means of dealing with the problem in the past, it is not, however, completely guided from a scientific point of view.

The phenomenon to which we are referring can also be pursued in the broader sphere of culture. As a reaction, perhaps, to certain historical experiences, one can observe a special interest on the part of certain parties that create spiritual values with regards to power, or more specifically with regards to the relationship between power and morals. More than once some of them have arrived at the old placement of morals in opposition to power. And, historical experience stands as a witness that there is no incompatibility between power and morals, but, on the contrary, there is a vital necessity for the political power of the workers to be completely harmonious with the principles and requirements of consistent political humanism. Not all power corrupts, as an old proverb notes, just as not any morals can guarantee the honesty of power. It is certain that the power of the workers, in itself, does not also spontaneously lead to the appropriate moral values, just as the highest moral principles cannot replace the social role played by political power. The harmonious correlation between power and morals and the affirmation of power as a value can be ensured only through the conscious effort directed towards the affirmation of the essence of socialism in its true light and through the promotion of a consistent political humanism. Workers democracy represents precisely such a combination of power and morality, placing stress upon both of its components.

The improvement of social-political relations and the development of socialist democracy are inconceivable without the continuing strengthening of the leading role of the working class and, as a result, the leading role of the party. As comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has pointed out, "there is no contradiction between the leading political role of the party and the role of the leading class of the workers, but rather a complete dialectic unity, with the two of them influencing each other. One cannot speack of the party's leading political role without ensuring leadership by the working class in all fields. At the same time, the leading role of the working class cannot be ensured without the recognition and exercise of the political role of the revolutionary party, of the Communist Party. It must be well understood that the achievement of the leading role of the working class and the leading political role of the party can be carried out only on the basis of a broad revolutionary, workers, socialist democracy."

It is known that in accordance with the provisions in the program the Romanian Communist Party has carried out a sustained and encompassing activity to improve social-political relations and the organizational and institutional system of socialist democracy and to increase the leading role of the working class within the framework of these organizations and organs and, in general, in all the organs of social leadership. We have introduced national congresses and conferences of workers from diverse fields of activity, creating, at the same time, permanent organs for these fora. These congresses, together with their permanent organs, aim at the national-level participation of the masses of workers in the discussion and approval of the most important decisions regarding the economic-social, political and spiritual development of the country and Romania's international policy of peace and cooperation. All this, together with the permanent improvement of the operations of the state institutions and apparatus, the growth of the role of the mass and public

organizations and the Socialist Unity and Democracy Front, and the methods introduced for the public discussion of the most important plans, decisions and laws constitute an expression of the continuing development of workers democracy based on the participation of the popular masses in all political affairs and in the government of the country.

The thesis set forth by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, according to which the party leads not in the name of the working class, but together with it and all the people, summarizes the defining points of the present and future stages in improving social-political relations. The thesis is part of the natural continuity of the known concept regarding the means of achieving the party's leading political role. In this view, the party's leading political role must be expressed not from without, but from within the state social and economic organs. The party exercises its leading political role not as an organism placed above society, not with administrative methods, but by placing each communist at the head of actions to fulfill political and production tasks and to resolve economic, social, political and educational problems at the place of work, by having a revolutionary spirit of initiative and by having the exemplary behavior of party members. These principles for affirming the leading political role of the party in our society have broad repercussions in the entire system of social-political relations and socialist worker democracy and in the operation of this system. In the same sense, the fact should be stressed that the operation, strengthening and continued development of internal party democracy constitutes a veritable prototype for the operation, strengthening and development of socialist democracy in general.

Along this same line of thinking, it is appropriate to reveal the fact that the harmonious combination of the party members' rights and duties constitutes a model for the combination of citizens' rights and duties within the framework of socialist democracy. Similarly, we feel that in explaining the characteristics of the new stage of improving social-political relations and developing workers democracy it is appropriate for us to dwell upon this unity between rights and duties, as outlined and promoted not only by the party's statute and the country's Constitution, but also by the de facto expression and operation of the entire system of socialist democracy.

Among the main components of our social-political affairs and socialist democracy, an important role is played by the fully equal rights of all the citizens of our country regardless of nationality, sex or religion. In our country, the nationality problem was resolved, a resolution rightly considered by the party as one of the most important revolutionary advances. This problem must also be dealt with through the prism of the unity between rights and duties, stressing the duties of everyone to contribute to the continuing strengthening of our people's unity regardless of nationality and the brotherhood between the socialist Romanian nation and the coinhabitating socialist nationalities, to combat any manifestations of nationalism, chauvinism, anti-semitism and racism with a maximum of decisiveness and to counteract any attempts to disrupt the socialist unity of the workers.

In social affairs, few are the problems that we can say have been definitively resolved and that can be removed from the list of concerns. Certainly, we have definitively eliminated the exploiation of man by man, but socialist social relations must

be strengthened and developed day-to-day. In contemporary Marxist literature, the idea has been introduced whereby freedom is not a gift of nature, it must be acquired and reacquired over and over again. Any achievement of value by socialism must be permanently furthered by its continued improvement in accordance with the requirements of each new stage through which we pass.

Social-political relations are, first of all, macrostructural relations, relations established between large groups of people. Speaking, however, about the improvement of social relations in the current stage, we should not lose sight of the importance and role of interhuman and interpersonal relations. Healthy, viable social-political relations conforming to socialism in its true light favorably influences the development of certain interpersonal relations based on the principles of consistent humanism, just as dysfunctionalities in social-political relations usually also deteriorate interpersonal relations. Similarly, keeping in mind Marx's idea whereby the human essence is basically expressed through the overall group of social relations, it can be demonstrated that the improvement of social-political relations constitutes an indispensible basis for the creation of a multilateral personality, just as dysfunctionalities in social-political relations are also expressed in the distortion of the personalities of the members of society.

At the same time, stressing from a sociological point of view the role determined in the final analysis by the macrostructure in relationship to the microstructure and society in relationship to the individual, we will not forget Marx's idea whereby in a society lacking exploition the free development of all becomes the condition for the development of each, just as the development of each in turn becomes the condition for the development of the entire collective. Those especially who have important tasks in the formation of the personality and in the development of an advanced awareness in the workers, especially in young people, must be aware of the fact that the improvement of social relations is not an exclusively macrosocial process and is not exclusively the tasks of certain organs. organizations, fora and institutions. The carrying out of such an objective at the level, we could say, of the cells of social affairs involves the improvement of relations within the framework of the family, microcollectives and different forms of interpersonal relations by increasing awareness, the sense of responsibility and the socialist activism of the individuals.

The discussions surrounding contemporary social-political relations and surrounding democracy demonstrate more clearly and more directly than the discussions surrounding any other theme the fact that in the contemporary confrontations of ideas in the final analysis political options and systems of different values are colliding. In today's world, the advances, principles and ideals of democracy are considered values both in the socialist countries and in the capitalist ones, both by the workers movement and by the different bourgeois groups and parties national movements, religious groups and so forth. And, as is known, there are different types of democracy and different concepts that are many times opposed regarding democracy. The Romanian concept regarding democracy, expressed repeatedly by the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, begins with need of ensuring full equality between people and achieving certain equitable economic and social relations that will permit

each citizen to lead a worthy life, and with the free access to work, education and culture up to the opportunity for direct participation in the management of all of society.

In the capitalist countries, democracy is sometimes invoked as an argument for the toleration of the manifestation in social and political affairs of certain forces of the extreme right, fascism and neofascism, and the propagation of certain racist, chauvinist, antisemitic and antihuman theories. In the name of broad, socialist rights and for the purpose of protecting these rights, such manifestations are not and will not be tolerated in socialist Romania. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed: "We must clearly state that the revolutionary theory about social democracy and man's freedoms is incompatible with freedom for fascism, for terrorism and for reactionary, declasse elements that place the people's lives and the progressive development of the country in danger."

The social-political relations in our country are generators of noble ideas and activities placed in the service of peace and progress for mankind. Contemporary Romanian society confirms Marx's view whereby a society of work will be a society of peace. An essential aspect of the creative nature of our party's policy and concept is the options for certain supreme values in the different fields and spheres of social-political affairs. We will recognize the decisive importance of these options if we think about the special complexity of the social-political phenomena and processes in the contemporary world and about the frequently divergent trends and requirements that occur in different specific situations. It is without a doubt that, when in the much too disputed problem of democracy and the rights of man the party establishes as the supreme value the right of man to peace and to life, that is, to a worthy life, together with all the material and spiritual conditions that make it possible, it places a priority of values that in today's world, so full of contradictions and dangers, represents a sure guide for the solution of even the most complicated political and social problems.

In this context, the Romanian Communist Party's concepts and activities in the field of continuing to improve social-political relations under the conditions of advancing workers democracy acquire, without a doubt, international value and significance.

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